1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 visits at the house of Eliu, and Molingi, Eliu's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Eliu nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 695 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uale atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uale atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 835 The intense tapu that exists between *uale atua* relatives is supported by the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 753 Sometimes in spite of the tapu *uale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *uale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *uale atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokuia who married his *uale atua*, Wenua, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *uale atua*, whom he married in an access of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

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602 539 835 The attraction of *uale atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love chants (*hupu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a consummated affection of one *uale atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *uale atua* tapus, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hupu*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Hautiki koe, ko Tuke au
Ko ueue we koe pakeke
Wiki mai, o tuke wale atua
E pakeke, o hupu matua
Ko wahenua ake tumaha
Tuki mai pulu go te pulu o te uwale ta.

You are Mautiki (the Pleiades), I am Tuke (Orion)
(We lived) like two females together (as do those stars)
Turn to me, oh my *uale atua*
(as) are named, you are the tapu chief
(For which) my heart has longed;
(When I see you) my penis pounds like the beginning (thrusts) of the flight winds.

The second chant runs:

Ko vaipuhenua ake ai au
Ke pulu mapu i te uwale

I had dived my desire (as one would coco).
The first-born spouse (herself to me) and cattle for my heart.

Wakanapiuo mate ai au
Koe wana i tuke kai hakanapa
Ko tuke kai wakanapa ake koe;
E kai ai tuke tuke matuake,
Ko tuaki au ke mai au,
Ko tuaki au ke te matuake,
Wiki mai koe ke tuakiake,
Wiwaki mai mana pumu: wakaipo mai ke mana?

Dead is my heart (with shame).
I go to my shameful food.
With my incest for you.
Unquenchable is the desire of my heart,
(I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit.
I return here (this place) by the main road,
You turn to me that we may talk.
I like our secret understanding: we shall have intercourse, shan't we?